## Message Text

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**ACTION EA-14** 

INFO OCT-01 EUR-25 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-07 H-03

INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10 PA-04 RSC-01 PRS-01 SPC-03

SS-20 USIA-15 SAM-01 DPW-01 IO-14 OMB-01 AID-20 DRC-01

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R 131644Z FEB 74 FM AMEMBASSY BONN TO SECSTATE WASHDC 0429

UNCLAS SECTION 01 OF 02 BONN 02417

E.O. 11652: N/A TAGS: PINS, VS

SUBJECT: EDITORIAL COMMENT ON VIETNAM CEASE-FIRE

REF: STATE O2O762

- 1. IN RESPONSE TO REF TEL, THE FOLLOWING ARE TRANS-LATED EXCERPTS FROM COMMENT ON THE CEASE-FIRE:
- 2. DEUTSCHE ZEITUNG, PRO-CDU, JANUARY 25: "THE WAR IN SOUTH VIETNAM GOES ON. ONLY THE AMERICANS ARE NO LONGER THERE -- THEIR SOLDIERS, ADVISERS, THEIR MILITARY AND ECONOMIC SPLENDOR, THEIR PLANES, AND THEIR JOURNALISTS WHO, FOR YEARS ON END, PUBLICIZED THE VIETNAM WAR IN ALL PHASES AND DETAILS TO NEAR SATIETY. IN ALL, ONLY SOME 7,000 AMERICANS ARE STILL IN SOUTH VIETNAM TODAY, ACCORDING TO OFFICIAL REPORTS FROM THE AMERICAN EMBASSY IN SAIGON, CONSTITUTING THE APPARENT BUT SOLE SUCCESS OF THE PARIS AGREEMENT THAT ENTERED INTO FORCE ON JANUARY 28, 1973.

"WHAT THE WORLD HAD OVERLOOKED IN ITS SUPERFICIAL VIETNAM KNOWLEDGE AND VIETNAM WEARINESS WERE THE DEEPER CAUSES OF THE VIETNAM CONFLICT WHICH THE AMERICAN PRESENCE HAD MERELY OVERSHADOWED. THE PAST 1,000 YEARS UNCLASSIFIED

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OF VIETNAMESE HISTORY ARE ONE SINGLE CHAPTER OF CON-

FLICTS, WARS, HOSTILITIES, NATIONALISM, CULTURAL CHAUVINISM, REGIONALISM AND RURAL AUTONOMY... "DURING THE FIRST EIGHT MONTHS OF THE OFFICIAL CEASE-FIRE, THE VIETNAMESE COMMUNISTS CAME TO REALIZE THAT (THEIR) OBJECTIVE (THE 'LIBERATION' OF SOUTH VIETNAM AND ITS MERGER WITH THE NORTH) COULD NOT BE ACCOMPLISHED WITH POLITICAL METHODS ALONE. SINCE EARLY SEPTEMBER THERE HAVE BEEN STEPPED UP MILITARY OPERATIONS... "IN ACTUAL FACT, THE PARIS AGREEMENT REPRESENTS BUT A DEAD DOCUMENT TODAY. ASIDE FROM THE PROVISIONS FOR AMERICAN WITHDRAWAL NO SINGLE TREATY STIPULATION WAS MET. INSTEAD, SOUTH VIETNAM HAS AGAIN BECOME (A THEATER OF WAR)... THE CASUALTIES ON BOTH SIDES IN THE YEAR OF THE OFFICIAL CEASE-FIRE NUMBER 50,000. "THE BLAME SURELY RESTS ON BOTH SIDES. BUT IN VIEW OF HANOI'S DECLARED 'LIBERATION-' AND UNIFICATION POLICY, IT MAY HARDLY BE HELD AGAINST PRESIDENT THIEU THAT HE IS DOING ALL HE CAN TO PROTECT SOUTH VIETNAM FROM THE COMMUNIST GRIP. THIS HAS MEANWHILE EVEN BEEN ACKNOW-LEDGED BY HIS POLITICAL OPPONENTS IN SAIGON ... "WHETHER THE COMMUNISTS WILL DARE TO LAUNCH A NEW OFFENSIVE OR WHETHER THEY WILL ADHERE TO THE CONCEPT OF PERMANENT GUERILLA WARFARE REMAINS TO BE SEEN SHORTLY. BUT ONE THING IS CERTAIN: PEACE FOR THE 20 MILLION PEOPLE OF SOUTH VIETNAM CONTINUES TO BE AS REMOTE AS EVER. NEVERTHELESS. PRESIDENT THIEU'S CHANCES AND THOSE OF HIS SOLDIERS TO RESIST THE COMMUNIST CHALLENGE ON THE BATTLEFIELD SEEM TO BE GREATER TODAY THAN AT ANY TIME BEFORE."

3. THE INDEPENDENT FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG, JANUARY 29: "...PRESIDENT THIEU PROVED TO BE MUCH STRONGER THAN MANY HAD EXPECTED. AS IT LOOKS NOW, THE VIETCONG CAN NO LONGER FORCE HIM DOWN. BUT IT IS EQUALLY CLEAR THAT THIEU IS UNABLE TO CHASE THE VIETCONG OUT OF THE AREAS THEY CONTROL ... THOSE WHO WON WERE THE AMERICANS WHO, WITH KISSINGER'S DIPLOMACY, SUCCEEDED IN EXTRICATING THEMSELVES FROM THEIR VIETNAM ENTANGLEMENT WITHOUT SACRIFICING THEIR PRESTIGE IN SOUTHEAST ASIA..."

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4. RHEINISCHER MERKUR, FEBRUARY 1, ALSO SPOKE OF "KISSINGER'S MASTER-PIECE" IN DISENGAGING THE U.S. FROM ITS SOUTHEAST ASIAN COMMITMENT "WITHOUT LOSING FACE MILITARILY." IT WENT ON: "DEVELOPMENTS SHOWED THAT, CONTRARY TO CURRENT OPINION, POLITICALLY LEFTIST-ORIENTED THROUGHOUT, GI WITHDRAWAL FROM SOUTH VIETNAM AND CAMBODIA HAS NOT ONLY FAILED TO IMPROVE THE LOT

OF THE PEOPLE THERE BUT HAS RATHER WORSENED THE SITUATION TO THE POINT OF SEEMING HOPELESSNESS. THE PROPAGANDA THESIS SIMPLY DIDN'T PROVE RIGHT THAT, ONCE THE AMERICANS DISAPPEARED, THE COMMUNIST, BUDDHIST AND PRO-WESTERN VIETNAMESE, AS WELL AS THE OTHER PEOPLES OF

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INDOCHINA WOULD ASSEMBLE AROUND A BIG TABLE TO ACCELERATE, WITHIN THEIR OWN INTEREST, THE ROAD TO PEACE..."

5. THE INDEPENDENT KIELER NACHRICHTEN, JANUARY 26: "HENRY KISSINGER, ONE YEAR AGO ON JANUARY 27, CONCLUDED A CEASE-FIRE, NOT A PEACE TREATY. THIS IS TOO EASILY FORGOTTEN AMID THE HOPES THAT THIS AGREEMENT SPURRED... HOWEVER, THE VIETNAM CEASE-FIRE DID NOT BECOME REALITY FOR ONE SINGLE DAY ... NORTH VIETNAM'S OFFENSIVE OPERATIONS IN SOUTH VIETNAM AND THE VIETCONG'S MASSIVE ARMAMENT THAT IS INCONSISTENT WITH THE PARIS AGREEMENT GIVE RISE TO GROWING FEAR THAT HANOI MIGHT SOON EVEN GIVE UP THE PRETENSE AND DECLARE THE AGREEMENT NULL AND VOID. FOR IT HAS NOT YET REACHED ITS WAR AIM ...

"THIEU'S REGIME -- AS ONE OF KISSINGER'S CONDITIONS -- IS STILL IN POWER ... BUT THE U.S. OFFER OF SEVERAL BILLION DOLLARS OF RECONSTRUCTION AID TO MAKE PEACE PALATABLE TO HANOI WAS BLOCKED BY CONGRESS ... THE CONGRESS HAS (ALSO) ENFORCED A TOTAL BOMBING STOP IN ALL OF INDOCHINA AND CURTAILED THE PRESIDENT'S RIGHT TO DECLARE WAR ... AMERICAN DETERRENCE HAS LOST ITS UNCLASSIFIED

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HORROR ... HOPE FOR PEACE, ALSO FOR A NON-COMMUNIST VIETNAM TODAY RESTS SOLELY WITH KISSINGER'S ELOQUENCE AND POWER OF CONVICTION WHICH CANNOT BE VALUED TOO HIGHLY. BUT THEY ARE NOT ENOUGH TO SOLVE THE INDOCHINA PROBLEM."
HILLENBRAND

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